REPRINT:
MARCH 1976
PRICE 30¢

SUPPLEMENT TO
IRAN REPORT

PAKNEJAD

TEXT OF DEFENCE SPEECH OF S.PAKNEJAD A MEMBER OF THE "PALESTINE GROUP" IN MILITARY TRIBUNAL NO. 3 OF TEHRAN

DEC. 1970

INTRODUCTION

In early 1970, a group of Iranians were arrested while attempting to cross the Iraqi border and join the Palestinian Revolution. The group was imprisoned for a full year before the Iranian regime officially announced the arrests and brought them to trial. Shokrollah Paknejad, a member of the group, says in his Defense Speech to the "court", that one of the reasons why the group was not brought to trial until after a year had passed was to allow time for the wounds from the tortures to heal.

The Confederation of Iranian Students has firmly supported this group of 18. The Confederation gained the support of public opinion to such a great degree that the regime was forced to hold "open" trials. After a few days of the trials, Shokrollah Paknejad, along with Massod Bataii and Nasser Kakhsaz, were sentenced to life imprisonment with hard labor. The other 15 were sentenced to 3 to 15 years in prison.

The entire Defense Speech of Shokrollah Paknejad is reprinted (English translation) in this pamphlet by the Iranian Students Association in Northern California. In his Defense Speech, Paknejad discusses the oppressive conditions in Iran: the poverty and lack of education for the Iranian people, the lack of freedom of speech or even freedom of thought, the brutal ways the opponents of the regime are suppressed. (Note: Throughout this pamphlet when reference is made to U.S. or British intervention in Iran, it is understood that reference is made to the U.S. or British government, not the people of those countries.)

"How can one feel free amongst masses suffocating under the pressure of totalitarianism, hunger, lack of education, and terror?.....Liberty remains an empty and senseless word, so long as there is, on this earth, one single prisoner, one hungry man, an oppressed being, one deprived person, and one deprived person, and one man in need of culture."

"We are neither the first group to be tried nor the last, in the tribunals of the Iranian Army, for having struggled for liberation and against imperialism."

"In fact, the Iranian ruling elite is putting on trial the solidarity of our people and that of the world with the people of Palestine, a solidarity for the liberation of that country from under the yoke of imperialism and Zionism."

"In the face of terror and repression, in the face of the tyranny of the regime and its attempts to smash any outcry for freedom, the resolute struggle of the people of Iran to break the chains of slavery and gain independence, and shatter the yoke of Western imperialism and its native servants grows ever stronger. And their struggle will continue until the final victory."

SHOKROLLAH PAKNEJAD

THE DENFENSE SPEECH OF SHOKROLLAH PAKNEJAD IN THE ORDINARY MILITARY TRIBUNAL NO. 3 OF TEHRAN

DATE: DECEMBER 1970

1- Protests according to Article 295 of the Military Code of Indictment and Punishment.

With due respect the following shall be said in protests against the competence of the Tribunal and, in principle, against its claim to legality.

The rule of the Constitutional Law is absolute as regards (issues) between the citizens and the State, between the citizens and the Courts, between the citizens and the Triple Powers: the Judiciary, the Executive, and the Legislative; and the Rule of the Constitutional Law is binding in legal aspects of the Nation. All and any action that takes place must be done within the framework of the Constitutional Law, and any action or measure violating the Constitutional Law is not valid and not binding and no one whall be obliged to obey it.

Let us now see whether this "session" is held according to the principles of the Constitutional Law. If so, then later the question of its competence or incompetence whall be discussed. But if this "session" meets in violation of the Constitutional Law, then discussion regarding an illegal question shall be superfluous and useless.

Article 74 of the Supplementary Constitutional Law, which I quote below, states: "No court may be summoned contrary to the provisions of the law."

Then when the Constitutional Law does not authorise the summoning of court unless provisioned by law, ipso facto, no court can be summoned in violation of the Constitutional Law itself.

I quote Articles 76 of the Supplementary Constitutional Law which states: "The hearings of all the courts shall be public, execept where publicity would be prejudicial to public order or morality. In such a case the court shall declare the necessity of a hearing in camera."

Let us now see who are present in this "meeting"? I state the names of all present in this meeting carefully so that it may be clear, for matter of record that not even one observer is present in this "meeting": The accused are Massod Batali, Ahmad Sabouri (has shown weakness and betrayed us), Nasser Kakhsaz, Nasser Rahimkhani, Abdulah Fazeli, Hashem Sakvand, Hedayat Sultanzadeh Alireza Navab-booshehri, Bahram Shalgooni, Davood Solhdoost, Salamat Ranjbar, Mohamdareza Shalgoni, Ebrahim Anzabi-nejad, Mohamed Moazez, Nasser Jafari, Farshid Jamali, Farhad Ashrafi, and Shokrollah Paknejad. In addition, are present the President of the Tribunal, the judges, the Military Prosecutor, the secretary to the Tribunal, the officers and the soldiers (of the guard). I demand the proceedings which have led to decision to hold the Tribunal in camera be read now so that it may be registered.... (No such declaration is read on the part of the President of the Tribunal -- translator).

Therefore, when Article 76 of Supplementary Constitutional Law is violated, and the Right as declared in Constitutional Law is overlooked, and the "meeting" is held without the presence of observers, then, such a meeting cannot be considered Tribunal and the fact that I have been saying "meeting" and not court or tribunal is in total accord with the articles 74 and 76 of the Supplementary Constitutional Law which I repeat again: "No court may be summoned contrary to the provisions of the law", and "The hearings of all courts shall be public, execept where publicity would be prejudicial to public order and morality. In such a case the court shall declare the necessity of a hearing in camera."

Is the publicity of an open tribunal really prejudicial to public "order" and "morality"? If such be the case, which is most improbable, then the court must declare, at the opening session, that the court shall proceed in camera; and no such declaration has been made, and nothing of the kind has been registered in the records. I must explain that the composers of the Constitutional Law in order that the government may not send democrats, group by group, and without the knowledge of the people, to tribunals behind closed doors and condemn them without the slightest publicity, had insisted in Constitutional Law on certain provisions; and Art.77 is the expression of the special attention given in this regard. I quote: "In cases concerning politics and the Press, where secrecy is necessary, it shall be decided on with the agreement of all the members." You see, the Constitutional Law has insisted that in cases of political trials, the decision must be unanimous as regards secrecy, lest the government may succeed in influencing the majority of the members of the court.

I have quoted the article so as to draw attention to necessity of the publicity of courts, especially in cases of politics. It is clear to me and to all freedom - lovers of Iran and the world, how, in cases of necessity, the law is wrongly interpreted (in this country) and it is also clear that the entire government holds that no one is detained or condemned in this country under political accusations. I and hundreds of other freedom-fighters, like the accused present in this "meeting", of whom all the freedom-lovers of Iran and the world are certainly proud, in the eyes of the government and the Army, are criminals tried for criminal offences. I do not intend to discuss, at this stage, the grounds and the nature of the accusations, neither do I intend to prove that the accusations are of political nature. I only wish to lean Law in the affirmation of articles 74 and 76 and state that this "meeting" cannot be considered a "court" unless publicity is given to it, and the observers waiting outside, among whom are present members of the families of the accused, and representatives of the accredited Iranian and foreign journals, are given the opportunity to take part in the trial. For, first, this "meeting" must be held according to the Articles of the Constitutional Law; and then I shall present my grounds of protest against the competence of the Military Tribunal.

Therefore, the observation of articles 74,76, and 77 of Supplementary Constitutional Law and the declaration of the publicity of the tribunal and the presence of those observers awaiting outside is the first condition of turning this "meeting" into a "court".

2- As regards Competence:

Now I wish to state my views as regards the legal and substantive competence of the Military Tribunal which is to look into the accusations.

Before entering into the main discussion, I must say that I am quite aware of the sensitivity of the gentlemen (judges) on the question of rejecting the competence of the court and that the mere rejection of the competence of this tribunal is considered in itself a "crime". In spite of this, I feel obliged as a human being to defend myself. Admitting the competence of the Military in legal questions is the implicit acceptance of the intervention of the SAVAK in investigations from the beginning, including the inhumane tortures effected. The root of all the oppression and the tortures suffered by the members of this case is to be found in the acceptance of the competence of the military courts in questions of politics and those regardingpolitical thinking and ideology.

I must add here that those laws of the land are to be observed that are legislated within the framework of the constitutional Law and the Charter of the United Nations, and whatever injures the constitutional Law (of Iran) and the UN Charter and shows disregard for Human Rights, is to be discarded.

I now quote Article 79 of Supplementary Constitutional Law: "In political and Press matters, a jury must be present in the court." Having studied the files and having taker note of all the provocations of the SAVAK and the investigations, I declare here that any crime attributed to me is political and that a jury must be present in the court. But the military courts in this country are of the opinion that no one in this country is arrested or tried for political motives. We are here considered to be ordinary criminals, and not political defendants, only with this difference that ordinary criminals are immune from torture, for their cases are tried by civil courts; a political defendant has this "advantage" that upon arrest he is harshly tortured. I therefore declare here that whatever accusation directed against me, is political and concerns my political thoughts and thinking. The accusation is nothing but the opposition to oppression and injustice and these are all called political "crimes", and therefore the Article 79 of the Supplementary Constitutional Law must be respected, and a jury must be present; otherwise, this court is held in violation of Article 79 of Supplementary Constitutional Law and those who effect such violation are to be prosecuted and punished. How painful it is to know that Iran, as regards the question of Human Rights, has regressed in comparison to some thirty years ago. In order to back my statement, I must say that the law punishing those initiating actions against the "Security and Independence of the Nation", which is used by the military authorities, was "legislated" on the 22nd of Khordad of 1310 (June 1931), that is some 39 years ago. In 1316 (1937) a group of Iranian communists known as the Group of the 53 were tried according to this same law, but in a civil court of the Ministry of Justice and not in a military tribunal.

Now 33 years have passed since then and we are brought to trial for the same accusations and under the same law, but under the glare of bayonets and in a military tribunal. And this is of course the meaning of "progress" in this country in the field of Human Rights and dignity! The world must be informed of the terrible conditions under which we live, the conditions under which the Judiciary has been subdued under the force of bayonets, and all the problems of the country are "resolved" by the army and the armed forces. The Ministry of Justice has no other work other than resolving the issures that concern bank drafts, reductions of rents, or protests against swindles and bounced cheques.

And in fact the philosophy of the independence of the Judiciary and the separation of the threefold Powers of the land, which is specifically mentioned in Articles 26 and 27 of Constitutional Law, has disintegrated and there is not but the Executive Power that functions in this country. Article 26 of the constitutional Law states : "The powers of the State derive from the nation. The method of exercising these powers is regulated by the constitutional Law." Now let us see how the constitutional Law regulates the methods of exercising these powers.

Article 27 states: "The powers of the State are divided into three parts." And then in section 2 of this same article is further stated, "The Judicial Power, whose function is to determine what is right, is reserved to the religious courts for religious matters and to the ordinary courts for civil matters." It is also useful to quote Article 28 before giving further explanation. Article 28 states, "The three above-mentioned powers shall always remain separate and distinct from one another."

I may give this preliminary explanation that at the start, the constitutional Movement began as a reaction to the oppression executed by the rulers and the State was nothing more than the personal rulers and that the relations between the State and the citizens were determined according to the personal wishes of the Ruler and there existed no other criterion therefore.

At the beginning the people demanded the "House of Justice," but later this demand developed into the Constitutional Movement (of 1906). The aim here is to explain that the main substance at issue was Justice, and the people thought that with the establishment of the Constitution, and with the separation of the three powers: the Judiciary, the Legislative, and the Executive, they would be rid of that system of government of which the "hangman" was always an essential part, and that no longer could any blood-thirsty man, on personal wish, order the punishment of the accused. The aim was to take the power of judgment away from the Ruler and place it in the hands of the Judge,a judge who would no longer be a part of the Executive Power. Now the question that I would like to pose is whether we the present defendants, are standing before the Judiciary or the Executive Power? With the clarity of section 2 of Article 27 (already mentioned) which refers ordinary matters to civil courts, and with the fact that we are not standing before any civil court, it is clear that we are judged by the Executive Power, and this is a regression to the time before Mozzafaredin Shah and before the establishment of the Constitution.

However, as regards articles 27 and 28 of the Constitution, I must say that the trial of the accused, including myself, is held under the force of bayonets and the (rule) of the armed forces; and this is in total violation of Article 28. The trial of the present defendants under the present conditions constitutes transgression in the domain of the Judiciary and represents the destruction of the principle of the separation of powers of the Nation; this is of course punishable, and I draw the attention of the gentlemen (judges) to articles 82, 83, and 84 of the General Penal Code.

Article 83 states: "Anyone mentioned in the previous article, who deprives the citizens of their personal freedom, in violation of the laws, or deprives them of their constitutional rights, shall be deprived of his post and will lose his legal rights for a period of 5 to 10 years." My question is whether or not articles 27, 28,74,77, and 97 of the Constitutional Law have granted me any rights? And whether or not you have deprived me of these rights in this kind of tribunal? It is true that you may laugh at this and say "who dares execute Article 83 of the General Penal Code against us?" It is true that you may say that it is the wish of the regime that you are putting into effect. But my duty too is to state the truth so that the world may know what is going on in Iran, a country which has loudly acclaimed the defense of Human Rights.

THE FINAL DEFENSE SPEECH

Mr. President, Gentlemen Judges;
Since last year a large number of students and other freedom-fighters of Iran have been arrested by the agents of the SAVAK; they have been accused of having acted against the "security" of the Nation and have been subjected to horrible medieval tortures. With false dossiers, they are sent to military courts. The number of persons arrested last year in connection with their expression of solidarity with the people of Palestine is over the mark of one hundred, a number of whom have been released either after having served the term of sentence or have been sent to compulsory military service, and the rest about 40 persons, still awaiting trial, are in the hands of the SAVAK.

Before anything else, it must be asked: What are the real grounds for the arrest of this group, what was their goal, and what are the circumstances of their arrest? The accusation "Action against the Security of the Nation" is common to all political defendants. The SAVAK would like to present us as a bunch of criminals who, putting up an intellectual facade, with terrifying connections and foreign assistance, have had the intention of "killing" the Iranian people. Such claims are in fact mentioned in the files of this process. Without going into a long introduction and without wishing to confirm or to refute the claims of the SAVAK as to bank robberies, discovered arms and explosives, illegal crossing of the Afghan and Iraqi borders, relations with the Chinese and the Egyptian embassies, relation with the Iraqi Government and the Palestinian organisations and other "crimes" of which we are accused in the files of the SAVAK, presented in this tribunal, it is necessary to state for the members of this court that the present defendants have committed no "sin" but that of solidarity with the people of Palestine. In fact, the Iranian ruling elite is putting on trial the solidarity of our people and that of the world with the people of Palestine, a solidarity for the liberation of that country from under the yoke of imperialism and Zionism. Of course other comrades have discussed and will further discuss the reason for our departure for Palestine and our intentions for cooperation with that Liberation Movement. I state only very briefly that the Iranian ruling circles, contrary to their repeated utterances as to support for the Palestinian refugees and despite their ceaseless propaganda through the TV, radio and the newspapers as to their assistance for the Palestinian cause, have brought to trial a number of Iranian freedom-fighters only because they have shown their solidarity with the people of Palestine. The people of Iran and the world must know that all the charges brought against us in these files is a conspiracy to besmirch our real intentions and to divert the attention of the people therefrom.

No doubt, it must be mentioned that the intention of having wanted to give a helping hand to the Palestinians is a part of our anti-imperialist thinking and in fact our real motive was to fight against imperialism and Zionism. Imperialism has brought oppression not only to the Palestinians, but also to our people and a large number of other peoples of the world. Israel is no longer seen in her "innocent" appearance, but in her role as an aggressor that is supported by the imperialists. Israel , as a control tower of the imperialists, is today an instrument for the economic and political enslavement of the Middle East. This Government asks the Arabs to pay the price of the Jewish blood shed through the centuries in England, Spain, France, Russia, Germany, and the Balkans, and in this attempt, is fully supported by the U.S. and British imperialists. And do you know why we are standing trial today? Because the Iranian Government too is a tool of the same Western capitalism and British and U.S. imperialism .

In order to prove why we are standing trial for our solidarity with the people of Palestine, let us look back in history. The power and influence of the British imperialists in Iran before the (establishment of) the Constitutional Government was of such a great extent that the affairs of the Nation were often managed with the advice of the British politicians. After the advent of the Constitutional Movement, the efforts and sacrifices of the people, led by such leaders as Sattar-Khan, Bagher Khan, and Heydar-Amoghlu, led to the success of the Democratic elements. Because of the conspiracy of the foreign imperialists and internal reaction, the success of the Constitutional Movement did not last very long. Later the very same local lords, aristocrats and landlords, under the banner of Constitutionalism, took the power in their hands and continued their domination. The Constitutional Movement revived itself in the uprisings such as that of Khiabani in Azarbaijan, Colonel Mohamed Taghi Khan Pesyan, in Khorasan, and more importantly, that of Koochek-Khan in Gilan.

Confronted with powerful'revolutionary movements, the British imperialists had to take action. The establishment of the Revolutionary Government of the Bolsheviks in the vicinity of Iran, as a revolutionary fortress, was an added reason for the fears of the local lackeys of the imperialists forcing them to act. The necessity of establishing a harsh dictatorship with the view of suppressing every and any voice raised in defense of the liberation and independence of Iran, and of creating the required security for the British imperialists and oil-exporting capitalists, and at the same time, raising the "wall of safety" between India and the Russian Revolution, finally led to the Coup d'Etat of the 3rd of Esfand (1921) and the creation of the twenty years of dictatorship (of Reza Khan).

The oil issures and the other concessions of these twenty years are too well known to require any description. The shameful surrender of the Iranian Army at the beginning of World War II (without any resistance) needs no elaborations.

The struggles of the progressive forces between the years of 1320-1330 (1941-51) and the anti-imperialist movements of the Iranian people, led to the establishment of the Popular Government of Mossadegh. During the era of Mossadegh's Government, the struggle of our people against British colonialism, and the maneuvers of U.S. imperialism as the heirs of colonialism, and finally the anti-national Coup d"Etat of 1953, which was accomplished by American dollars and British politicians and the internal puppets, opened the way for the infiltration of the U.S. in the political theatre of Iran as a determining factor.

After this Coup d "Etat of 1953, the chains of colonialism entangled the feet and hands of our people more and more. The (oil), concession to the International Consortium, the membership in the Baghadad Pact, later named Cento, numerous economic and political concessions to the Americans and the British, the new law of Capitulation (for the American military personel in Iran), and other like concessions, have increasingly brought our country under the state of dependence, especially on the Americans. But in view of the imperialists, all this was not enough. Their interests called for total suppression of any political opposition and called for turning our country into a graveyard, or what they themselves have called "The Island of Peace and Stability", so that, from an economic point of view, the chains could be strengthened and the danger to their interests could be postponed at least for a while.

And for this very reason the phony Agrarian Reform was created.

I am not going to dwell on the circus of the elections of 1960-61, nor do I wish to discuss Dr. Amini's Government, the political displays and the trips of the leaders of the Government to foreign countries (to seek further assistance from the imperialists). It suffices to stress that the Land Reform and the further operations related to it, known under the name of the "White Revolution", as a political and not economic measure, are merely at the service of strengthening the regime, and not for the benefit of the workers and peasants and women ('s liberation). Th: phony reforms effected from above by the regime did not come from the peopl themselves.

In principle, the mission of reformism, is to eliminate the conditions of Revolution, that is, it is always in the interest of the ruling class and against the oppressed, and for the continuation of exploitation and oppression.

Colonialism, whether of the old or the new kind, must always do some reforming to facilitate its plans. The British built some railways, roads, building communication lines, factories, and refineries in India to facilitate their plunder of that country.

Similarly, the Land Reform and related operations in Iran have had two principle goals: First, to remove the danger of peasant uprisings and the militarisation of the countryside, and second, the expansion of the market for foreign goods and the creation of the facilities to further the domination over the raw materials and the natural resources of our country. It was right after this Land Reform that the propaganda about "Industrialization" of Iran began, and with the establishment of a few assembly plants in Iran, tl was claimed that the country ranked among the "industrialised antions".

In practice, the big imperialist enterprises, in order to destroy (what remained of) the economic independence of Iran, built these assembly plants. The so-called Iranian factories were all created with U.S. or British capital, such as the automobile factories which were cited as proof of the economic development of the country; much government propaganda is devoted to them. Such factories, which are nothing but assembly plants, are the means by which the foreign car makers save a great deal of customs duties and taxes. However, despite all the clamour in this regard, the world should know that, as that Indian journalist put it, the establishment of a few assembly plants in Iran are ridiculous reasons for calling Iran industrialised.

These measures are for increasing the economic dependence of Iran on the imperialists. In fact, the progress of which the government is so boastful, is based on the ideology (sic) of consumption and its goal is to turn the Iranian people into consumers of the goods produced with foreign and domestic capital. The increase in the consumption of radio and television sets refrigerators, automobiles, coolers, heaters, cosmetics, and nylon stockings, is one thing, and economic development is another matter. In Iran the ruling class and the ordinary people are quite distinct. The former directly represents the interests of the Western capitalists. This class has nothing in common with the people and does not act in the interest of the people. This class organises a great number of clamorous displays to put up the claim that Iran has made progress and economic development.

It spends half of its time on propaganda to convince the people of such progress. This class, the comprador-bourgeoisie, is in fact, the partner of the economic and social policies of Western capitalism and its power and wealth has adversely affected the interests of the national bourgeoisie and petty bourgeoisie. This comprador-bourgeoisie has in its hands the levers of power; the legal relations of production and consumption are established with its laws and maintained by its force.

With its aid and under its guidance, foreign capital is invested in Iran, and large sums of profit therefrom are extracted and sent to capitalist countries. This is, in short, the real nature of the class that has claimed the leadership of the "National Revolution" and "Rapid Economic Development". It is claimed that the result of governmental measures, in the last few years, has been at any rate, the eradication of feudalism. I must reply to this, that feudalism has not been eradicated. It has been weakened, but not by a national government or a government moving in the direction of developing national capitalism, rather it has been effected by a dependent government which works for the interests of the imperialists and a special class dependent on imperialism. The agrarian reform and the related operations can only be understood in terms of the economic domination of the capitalist compradors such as Sabetpassal, Elghanian, and Akhavan, the militarisation of life in the country side, the strengthening and the extension of the anti-popular police State, the extension of imperialist culture, the extension of prostitution and sexual disorder with the aim of stupefying the people and especially the young, all in order to increase the fetters of colonialism and nothing else.

All this is similar to what the British did in terms of reform in India. Otherwise, it must be asked what kind of revolution is this with the same deputies, the same senators, the same ministers, the same SAVAK and police force, and the same General Nassiri's, same Assadolah Alam's, same Emam-jomeh's, same senator Sharif-emani, same Dashti, same Eghbal's (all close associates of the Shah and members of the ruling class) of the pre-"revolution" who still have the reign of power? While, at the same time, the state of hygeine, nutrition, clothing, and the culture of the people remains the same as before.

From two years before my arrest, I had been spending most of my time in the farthest villages of the country. From Chah-bahar of Baluchistan to Makooi in Azarbaijan (from South East to North West) and from Khoramshahr in Khoozistan to Sand Valley in Khorassan, all I have seen and have witnessed is that, despite the vast government propaganda to the contrary, the people are subjected to extreme poverty, hunger, lack of education, disease, lack of housing, and they own a single shirt each usually, and suffer other material and spiritual deprivations. All these dominate the scene very harshly. If one were to look at the Iranian situation through government statistics and reports, one would come to the conclusion that Iran is the "promised land"; but all that was said could not be understood unless one did go among the people; only then can the hell-like conditions under which we live be seen.

Yes, it is true that we were going to join the Palestinians to fight imperialism which is responsible for the misfortune of the people of Asia, Africa, and Latin American. Palestine is a turning point in the anti-imperialist struggle in this region: and the secret of the final defeat of imperialism is to be found in these wars of liberation.

The history of the 20th century is to be summarised in the fall of the empires.

The colonial empires of Britain and France disintegrated in this century, and there remains only one empire which, through its technology and extreme wealth, has imposed itself on the world. This is, the United States of America. It is the greatest fortress of world imperialism. One of the aspects of the Palestinian Revolution is directed against the USA. The struggle against the USA and its world monopoly is the struggle for the redistribution of wealth in this world among its real owners, that is , the hungry peoples of Asia, Africa, and Latin America. This is a struggle to overthrow the present system of world trade in which the Western capitalist states had in 1966, 68% and the Third World 20% of the total of 185 billion dollars. U.S. imperialism uses every means and in all corners of the world, to continue the preservation of her privileges and thus impose poverty on 3/4 of the world population.

In Vietnam, the means of living, the food supplies, the farms, and the houses of innocent people, and in short, any signs of life, are destroyed by the imperialists' napalm. In Indonesia, the imperialists had one million people massacred by the fascist militarists and religious fanatics. In Africa, with the help of military dictatorships, they destroy legal and nationalist governments so as to continue to dominate the natural resources of that continent. In Greece, with the assistance of the fright-ful agents of the CIA, they subdued the moderate movement of the liberals; they admire the crimes of the racist regimes of South Africa and Rhodesia; they come to the aid of the most hated dictatorships in the world, with dollars and guns. The U.S. imperialists, leaning on their numerous military bases all over the world, and their Sixth and Seventh fleets in the Pacific Ocean and the Mediterranean Sea, at any time their interests are threatened, lose no time to dispatch their marineds, bombers and paratroopers, as they did in Lebanon, the Dominican Republic, in Vietnam and Cambodia.

The imperialist aggressors, the racist profiteers, and American colonialists, in order to extend their domination, attack in all fields, be it economic, military, political , or cultural, and not only against the peoples of the Thirld World, but also agaisnt the workers of the capitalist countries of the West, to further their exploitation, in its most brutal forms --- on the economic, political military, and cultural and ideological levels. The imperialists have vast financial means for execution of this domination and have in their hands the keys to the communication media and other means of propaganda, disguised in forms of cultural institutions. And in these ways, the U.S. attempts to universalise its economics, politics, and moral values. In most parts of the world, a portion of the price of any commodity consumed must be handed over to American investors. such domination over the economy and moral values, over the ways of life, production, and consumption of the peoples of the world, is like fascism with its own armour, task forces, paratroopers, green-berets, and frightful overt and covert propaganda organisations. It is backed by great technology and wealth; and only a part of this wealth, which amounts to 30 billion dollars, is annually spent for the massacre of the people of Vietnam. In comparison with this kind of fascism, the fascism of Hitler and Mussolini look quite harmless!!!

Yes, it is true, we were going to join the Palestinians to fight the most fetiled phenomenon of man's history, that is Imperialism and her running dog, Israel.

I personally accept (the charge) that my goal was to gather experience so as to return to Iran, at the right time, "with full military preparation", of which so much is made in the report of the SAVAK. The SAVAK is bringing us to trial for an act which may have taken place some years later; in fact, we are put on trial for our beliefs and our ideology; and this trial is in violation of the Iranian Constitution and Universal Declaration of Human Rights. Our crime is nothing more than a way of thought that does not please the Iranian ruling class and the imperialists. In Iran, anyone with beliefs other than those pleasing to the SAVAK, is arrested and tried. Yes, our "crime" is no more than our beliefs that do not please the SAVAK; otherwise, I ask you what action has been initiated by us against the security of the country? The fact that we are being tried in this tribunal is the best proof of the lack of freedom not only of speech, but also of thinking... The report of the SAVAK has attempted to portray the activities of this group as communist, while it must not be forgotten that none among the defendants of this case merits this title. Irrespective of characteristics such as being in possession of vast knowledge, courage and discipline, etc., which a communist must have, the most important criterion for being a communist is that of membership in a communist party, which I, unfortunately, have not. If this tribunal wishes to know my ideological leanings, I am a Marxist-Leninist and am proud of my way of thinking.

Mr. President of the Tribunal, I had been a religious man, and in the course of social struggle, as a member of the Iran National Party, which is nationalist, joined the National Front. And, finally, after long studies, after long analyses, after having been arrested and imprisoned on occasion, and after many (political)

experiences, in practice, I reached the conclusion that the welfare of the Iranian people and the liberation of the whole of humanity can only be realised under the banner of Marxism-Leninism, that is, the ideology of the most deprived masses. Liberty, this beautiful word, can not be forgotten; liberty from the bounds of hunger, lack of education and injustice, oppression and totalitarianism; the old concepts that preserve the interests of man against man. How can one feel free amongst masses suffocating under the pressure of totalitarianism, hunger, lack of education, and terror? The capitalist order, which administers the poor and the rich under her rule, the capitalist laws, which govern this inequality, capitalist economy and moral values which dominate and advocate this inequality and unnatural inhuman relationship, and the framework called Patria which has embraced hunger and satisfaction, freedom and confinement, oppressor and the oppressed, governor and the governed, poverty and wealth, all such values have in our age irritated the senses of Humanity with their nauseating smell. For humanity today knows this reality: that liberty remains an empty and senseless world so long as there is on this earth, one single prisoner, one hungry man, an oppressed being, one deprived person, and one man in need of culture. Marxism-Leninism, the ideology of the progressive humanity, is the key to solving all human difficulties. Marxism-Leninism is the ture liberator of Humanity. The system of inquistion (Holy Office) of the SAVAK treats the Marxist-Leninists the harshest, and uses the most terrible medieval methods of inquisition against them.

Mr. President, in order the throw light on the methods of SAVAK against those with an opposing ideology to the Government, in order to know how the freedom-fighters are treated, an in order to assess the value of the investigations conducted by the SAVAK, let us go into a description of the tortures used against my person.

I was arrested on the 18th of Day, 1348 (Jan. 10th, 1970) and taken to the SAVAK branch in the city of Khoramshahr. There, I was searched by three investigators who beat me up very severely. The investigations continued, amidst harsh pounding, from eight at night until one o'clock in the morning.... The day after, I was moved to the police headquarters. I spent a week in this toilette, with one meal per day, without any clothing, and had one blanket to keep me warm. On the 8th day, I was transported, in a Landrover of the SAVAK, to Teheran's Evin Prison. Right at the beginning (new) investigations started with beatings. Two agents, named Reza Atapour, and Beiglari, respectively known as Dr. Hosseinzadeh and Engineer Yoossefi, beat me up very badly over an hour's time. Then they made me sit begind a table and demanded that I write that I was a communist, and was engaged in syping. As I refused, on the orfer of Atapour, two enlisted men entered and laid me on the ground.

These two, with the help of Beighlari, slashed me on the back with a whip for over three hours, continuously; they would take turns to rest. My body turned violet, my back was bleeding, and I lost consciousness twice. The first day passed in the above described manner; the same was repeated on the second day. In addition, on several occasions, my arms were crossed and fastened together from the back and I was forced to stand on one leg on a stool; then they would hit the stool, and with it I would fall on the ground.

On the third day, as a result of the hard slappings of Atapour, my left ear started bleeding and my left eardrum has been severely damaged and I have completely lost hearing of the left side; you can examine it. On the third day, at about ten o'clock at night, I was taken out of the monstrous Evin Prison into the yard, blindfolded. While still blindfolded, I was being pushed forward, and could hear Atapour and Beiglari murmuring about me.

The squeaking of crows, the harsh winter cold of the month of Day (January), the pain and the wounds of the whippings and of the left ear, and the damned voices of Atapour and Beiglari, SAVAK executioners, who were continuously addressing each other as "Doctor" and "Engineer", were tormenting. I was tied to a tree. The sounds of marching and strict orders which were being issued, made clear that the firing-squad was being called into action. Atapour began reading a court order to the effect that "Puknejad has been unanimously condemned to death for having made an attempt on the life of His Majesty the Shah and for having established connections with foreign governments". Then he ordered the firing-squad to get prepared. He was continuously reminding me that I was arrested near the Iraqi border and that no one would know of my arrest and execution, for everyone would think that I had gone to Iraq. Then the rifles' striker-pins were pulled, the order to fire was issued, and the guns were fired (evidently not on the defendant). A few moments later, he screamed, "What is this? What does this mean? Why do you issue orders, and then cancel them? Is this a joke or something?" And then with a loud voice, he used filthy language against me. Then I was taken back to the individual cell. This whole play was to force me to confess what they wished. Later in the investigations two of my nails were pulled out. I was often knocked down with karate techniques. I would be ashamed bo repeat here the filthy language they used against me; it suffices to say that their masters merit such language. Furthermore, I was on three occassions, deprived of sleep, for 48 hours each time. The tortures resulting from prolonged hunger and fixing glaring lights into the eyes need not be mentioned. Torture was continued for 18 days.

Mr. President, one of the reasons for bringing us to this tribunal so late is to allow time for the effects of the tortures to heal.

The order of my arrest was brought to me after twenty-one days. They wanted me to sign the order without specifying the date. As I refused, I was whipped again, and finally, I signed it the way they wished --- but under harsh slashing.

This description was meant to show the value of the investigations to which reference is made in this court, so as to show the illegal manner of the SAVAK agents and also to throw light on the conditions under which the investigations were carried out.

Mr. President, I am not the only one who has been tortured. All the defendants present here have been tortured. There is not a single person among them who has escaped torture. For example, the case of bleeding of Kakhsaz has been brought to light and has received ample publicity; he himself shall refer to it.

Engineer Hassan Nikdavoodi was killed under torture. His death has been unveiled. The SAVAK executioners, as they saw Nikdavoodi nearing death, moved him from Ghezel-Ghaleh Prison to Shassr Prison, so as to make it appear that he did not die as a result of torture. Later, as his condition deteriorated, he was moved to the Police Hospital (of Teheran), where he died. All the physicians who examined him testified that he died as a result of damage to his spinal cord. His "crime" was reading books. And it is not only Nikdavoodi or those of the present case who have died or are close to death as a result of tortures effected by SAVAK agents. His reverence, Ayattolah Saiidi, was also killed under torture in a Ghezel-Ghaleh individual cell. SAVAK executioners did not even have time to remove him to another place, as in the case of Nikdavoodi. Ashraf Sadat Khorassani too, as the result of continuous tortures, while close to death, has been moved to a private hospital, so that he may not die in prison. In fact SAVAK has set free his dead body, for according to the testimony of Prison Hospital officials, there is no hope for him.

Mr. President, and Gentlemen Judges, are these tortures not shameful in the age of space and the conquest of the moon? Yes, you, Gentlemen, will condemn us for having told the truth, but your verdicts will in no way lessen the bitterness of all that has been said, and you know that very well. We are neither the first group to be tried nor the last, in the tribunals of the Iranian Army, for having struggled for liberation and against imperialism.

The Army, the ranks of which you carry on your shoulders, has been used for decades, against the freedom fighters and intellectuals of Iran. This Army has been the beating stick of colonialism in this country. This Army is the same Kazak Army which, on the order of Mohamed Ali Shah, under the command of Liakhoff and Shapshah (Tzarist Russian officers) gunned the (newly constituted) Parliament and annihilated the Constitutionalists; this is the same army which in the tribunals of Baghshah, tried and executed Maleke-motekalemin and Souresrafil, and scores of other liberators; this is the same army which, under the order of the British imperialists, carried out the 1299 coup d'etat (of Reza Shah) and established the Twenty Year Dictatorship; this is the same army that suppressed the anti-imperialist uprisings of Khiabani, Pesyan, and Koochek Khan; this is the same army which was responsible for the shameful surrender of 1320 (when Allied armies entered Iran and the army surrendered without resistance); this is the same army that, after the end of WW II, carried out the massacres in Kurdistan and Azarbaijan; this is the same army which carried out the coup d'etat of 1953 and overthrew Mossadegh's popular government ; this is the same army which has always drowned in blood the peaceful demonstrations of the people and students. The memory of the 7th of December, 1953, (when Nixon visited Iran and university sutdents demonstrated against him) on which day Bozorgnia, Shariat-razavi, and Ghandchi died on the campus of the Faculty of Technology, will not be forgotten, nor will be forgotten the 21st of January, 1962, (when the Shah's paratroopers attacked the University of Teheran). This is the same army that on June 6th, 1963, massacred thousands of citizens in the cities of Teheran, Shiraz, Qom, Tabriz, Meshed, and others and exiled His Holiness, Ayatollah Khomeini, the Leader of the world Shiite Moslems, and other religious leaders. This is the same army that safeguards the Cento Pact and tens of other imperialist pacts in Iran. This is the same army that imprisoned Mossadegh, the popular leader of Iran, for twelve years

at the time of Reza Shah, and for 14 years after the 1953 coup d'Etat and even after his death, banned his funeral. This is the same army that brought Poozbeh, the symbol of Iran's revolutionary movement, before the firing squad. The blood of Vartan's, Siamak's, Mobasheri's, Fateal's, Pirnipour's, Bokharaii's, Ayatpoleh Saidi's and Nikdavoodi's and tens of thousands of other martyrs has been shed on the wishes of the imperialists, on orders from such tribunals as the present one.

The Iranian Army is run by U.S. and Israeli advisors. The selected officers are sent to the USA and Britain for their training. The SAVAK and the Security Branch of the Army are totally run by American advisors. Such an army has no duty but to suppress the liberation movement and independence-seeking elements, to drown in blood any movement that seeks to liberate Iran from under the yoke of the imperialists. This army has no mission but to arrest, torture, condemn and execute Iranian freedom fighters.

Under such conditions, when such an army, with such methods, dominates the life of the country, in conditions of the total rule of the SAVAK and the complete absence of all human rights, the Iranian people, have no other course but to resort to violence. The Universal Declaration of Human Rights, has very expressly granted to right to all human beings to rise against those governments which fail to respect human dignity and individual freedom, and to create a new order, in which every member of the society enjoys respect. History has proved over and over again that justice and human rights have always been acquired by force. No right has ever been granted freely, they are to be taken by force. Either the oppressor must stop oppressing, or the oppressed must overthrow oppression; there is no third alternative. No oppressor has ever given up willingly; it has always been the oppressed who have stopped tolerating oppression. The dictatorial regime in Iran wishes to turn our country into a graveyard through the suppression of all freedom, and by resorting to medieval tortures. It wishes to establish "peace" resulting from suppression and terror at the expense of "peace" resulting from security and welfare; but this attempt will never succeed. In the face of terror and repression, in the face of the tyranny of the regime and its attempts to smash any outcry for freedom, the resolute struggle of the people of Iran to break the chains of slavery and gain independence, and shatter the yoke of Western Imperialism and its native servants grows ever stronger. And their struggle will continue until the final victory.

SHOKROLLAH PAYNEJAD

"How can one feel free amongst masses suffocating under the pressure of totalitarianism, hunger, lack of education, and terror? ....Liberty remains an empty and senseless word, so long as there is, on this earth, one single prisoner, one hungry man, an oppressed being, one deprived person, and one man in need of culture."

IRANIAN STUDENTS ASSOCIATION

IN THE UNITED STATES (I.S.A.U.S.)

Member of the Confederation of Iranian Students (National Union)

P. O. Box 14181/Houston, Texas 77021